

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR VILLAGE

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out of hand. The fact that not all patrons of the tavern drank liquor was shown by the comment of one of the villagers:

"I come to the tavern chiefly for the newspaper. I have a strong will, drink little, and know when to stop. The young men when starting the temperance association asked me to be president but I couldn't give up coming here for the newspaper. The small coffee house across the square has only room enough for five or six people and there's no point in going there. Many blame me for going to the tavern, but they have no interest in finding out what is going on in the world."

One advantage of visiting the tavern included the announcements that the town crier always made there as well as out in the square.

The tavern keepers, however, had no illusions about their standing in the public estimation. All of them were of the same peasant stock as their patrons, but had sold some of their land in order to set themselves up in business.

"If the people of the village took a vote, the majority would favor shutting up all the taverns. The people don't like us," was the tart comment of one tavern keeper. This dislike sprang from the indebtedness of so many people to the tavern keepers, as well as from the strong feeling many have toward the social consequences of excessive alcoholism.

There were, however, a number of men who had to miss the morning session at the Dragalevtsy *kruchmi*. They were the milkmen. Each morning while it was still dark eight tiny donkeys left their yards, pattered down the slope just outside the village, and followed the straight gravel road five miles to Sofia. They were accompanied by their prodding masters who kept an eye on the two or three large cans of milk which had been strapped onto the wooden saddles. These donkeys long ago learned to swallow any pride they might have had, for each morning, with monotonous regularity, they were overtaken by the high two-wheeled horse-drawn milk carts used by the remaining thirty Dragalevtsy milkmen. Once in Sofia, the majority of the milkmen covered their routes, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans. The round completed, most of the milkmen began at once to retrace the long uphill journey from the city's outskirts to the village.

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622 the matter. The mayor was happily married to an attractive wife,
159 who dressed *po modata* (in the latest fashion) and kept her children so neat and proper that they contrasted vividly with the peasant urchins who ran up and down the unpaved streets.

625 The mayor was charged with maintaining law and order with
159 the help of the *strazhar* (police officer), the field policeman, and
622 the forest policeman. The second wandered from field to field to see that cattle did not stray unattended onto strips where there were growing crops; the forest policeman prevented the purloining of wood from the forest lands used by Dragalevtsy people. The mayor also acted as local justice of the peace, and was ex officio member of the school board, health board, and any other village organization he considered worthy of serious attention.

793 But the mayor, although he enjoyed the spotlight, had to share
622 it with the village priest. For five centuries, while the Bulgarians were subject to the Turks, the priest was often the only person in a village with any formal education. He not only interpreted the laws of God, but the laws of man as well. The Bulgarian monks and priests helped keep the feeling of Bulgarian nationality alive during those dark days, and thereby eventually aided in the achievement of national independence in 1878 at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War. Since traditions die slowly in a Bulgarian village, the position of the priest is still very high, although few people attend religious services and fewer people observe the rather rigid fasts of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the priest is an essential officiant at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Without him the peasants have no way of meeting life's major crises.

159 Father Sava was the *sveshmennik* or priest in Dragalevtsy. He
793 wore with dignity his long black gown and high brimless hat, his
581 uncut red hair in a knot at the back of his head, and a long auburn beard. I never failed to marvel at his wide range of interests. One day we would poke around his beehives; the next day he would show me his favorite photographs and competently discuss the relative merits of American and German cameras. But it was after I learned of the man's romance that I began to see him in a clearer light. The young lady whom he wanted to marry was the daughter of a priest

Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners

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Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's hand-work, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes.

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The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?"

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The artisans, though few in number, comprised a third occupational group. Just because their knowledge and special skill raised them above the ordinary peasant, these artisans in no sense of the word walked in the rarified atmosphere of the intelligentsia. In 1937 the people of Dragalevtsy supported one blacksmith, one full-time and two part-time tailors, a cobbler, and a barber. Of course, the six or seven Dragalevtsy men who went to Sofia every day to ply a skilled trade were enumerated in the census but had little connection with the economy of the village. The few tradesmen were identified more with the agricultural group than with the artisans.

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One of the most picturesque characters in the village was Iliya, the smith. Dark-complexioned, sturdy of frame, with his stolid face weighed down by enormous mustaches, he was far too forbidding in countenance to attract the village children to his small establishment behind Bai Penko's tavern. In fact, customers often had to look for him in the tavern, where he consumed record-breaking quantities of liquor. In his sober moods he and his two apprentices occasionally worked fourteen hours at a stretch to finish up some much-needed job. The three of them combined wagon-repairing with blacksmithing, working at the lathe almost as frequently as at the anvil. However, frequent preoccupation with hinges, wagon bolts, horseshoes, plowshares, and wheel rims gave Iliya a fair claim to being a *kovach*, or smith. So did his master smith's certificate hanging on the wall.

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Yurdan, the leading tailor, was another artisan. He and his wife Zdravka were a unique couple in that they were the only Dragalevtsy people to become involved in divorce proceedings within recent years. To be sure, Zdravka withdrew her petition for divorce soon after it reached the high church court, which, rather than civil bodies, then decided upon all matters pertaining to marriage. Yurdan had a small but well equipped workroom attached to his trim little house. Although Dragalevtsy-born, he worked for twelve years in Sofia as an apprentice and *maistor*, later becoming the first tailor to set up business in Dragalevtsy.

I often went to converse with Yurdan and Zdravka, for I found them both loquacious and inclined to be objective in their views of village life. I questioned them in particular about the peasant costumes, which always seemed picturesque to me, a foreigner. It was Zdravka who told me how the women made their garments.

582 married in Dragalevtsy. Because she had a physical deformity her
 208 parents had given up all hope of marrying her off since they knew
 she would be unable to attend properly to her housework and field
 work. During the first World War there were two old maids in
 the village who had not been chosen for marriage because each of
 them had a goiter. A doctor with the German forces cured the goiters
 ● [554] and these two unmarried women became desirable prospects, one of
 them marrying a priest's son in Sofia, one of the highest prizes a
 village girl could capture in her matrimonial venture.

[508] Since public opinion made life miserable for unmarried women,
 [562] even a girl of independent temperament looked upon marriage as
 581 an inevitable event, especially if she stayed in the village. With men it
 was different. They could choose to remain unmarried and not lose
 prestige in the community. People only said: "Well, Asen simply
 doesn't want to marry. He's a bit shy of skirts, you know."

The young men to whom I talked were outspoken in regard to
 those qualities which they looked for in choosing a mate: good health,
 industry, efficiency in the house and field, and proper care of the
 person. The girls, on the other hand, had little to say regarding the
 qualities they wanted in a husband. They seemed willing to accept
 whatever luck brought them. But marry they must.

584 There were many ways in which the husbands and wives had
 574 become acquainted with each other. If both had been born in
 883 Dragalevtsy, as was the case with a little more than half the couples,
 they were already aware of the other's characteristics either through
 personal acquaintance or hearsay. Many of the married couples had
 played together as children while tending the cattle in the sun-drenched
 pastures, only to become distant until most of the adolescent period
 passed. Then began frequent meetings at the fountain at sunset, shy
 flirtation at the *boro* and *sedenki*, or rambling conversation on the
 way to and from the Friday market. At the *sedenki*, held by the young
 people in various girls' homes on winter evenings, games involving
 forfeits were played. At one *sedenka* I attended, the girl giving out
 the penalties sent a couple obviously in love to the dark outdoors
 "to see what the weather was like." A few minutes later she sent
 a second couple out to see where the first had gone. All four of the

boys usually became cobblers, tailors, or tanners. In all cases where the sons remained to work in the village, they were expected to turn over to the father a part or all of their earnings. This practice once more emphasized the economic importance of children.

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As far as I could discover, none of the villagers resented my questions into their personal affairs. More than once, after the routine interviewing was over, a man unburdened himself of some hurt or grievance that revealed more than any questionnaire could. It was through such outpourings that I realized how land could dominate or warp completely otherwise normal family relationships of father and sons or brother and brother.

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Lonely old Bai Dimiter held especial interest for me since his wife had earlier told about incidents in his past which helped me to understand better why he began to drink so much that his girls felt ashamed of being called his daughters; to see how he bore his loss of economic and social position in the village owing to bad business methods coupled with a disabling accident. The key to the whole situation was the fact that his own father had tricked him in his early married days. After the son had paid off a heavy debt owed by his father, the father refused to deed him meadows in return but frankly confessed: "I fooled you in order to get money." To make the deception harder to bear, Dimiter inherited no land from his father, all of it going to another son with whom the father had been on better terms. Naturally, Dimiter had a falling out with his brother, and took the matter to the courts where, after long litigation, he failed to obtain any part of the inheritance.

The books I had read about Bulgaria in the old days pointed out the role the older brother formerly played when the father died. One village home was actually operated on the old principle of subordination of the younger brother to the older. Hristo, the older brother, was smaller than the younger brother, standing huge and stooped in the low-ceilinged room in such a way that the kerosene lamp cast a grotesque, mountainous shadow behind him. I knew, of course, about these men, as I knew about most village men, from the talk of tavern groups and other willing informants. I knew that they were ashamed of their family name which meant "the son of a donkey," and I knew

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that Hristo had served in the first World War and had been taken as a prisoner to France, which gave him a definite claim to distinction in the village. He talked easily and willingly of the war but just as willingly turned to discuss the arrangement whereby his brother and he, with their large families, lived in the same room in comparative harmony. In the first place, Sando, the younger, submitted to Hristo's authority, but Hristo, in turn, did not make or execute any plans without consulting his brother. Hristo had the task of managing the farm and doing the field work, marketing the products, and laying in the meager supplies; Sando worked as a teamster and as a day laborer if necessary to earn extra funds for the common treasury kept by Hristo. Some idea of the trust that the younger brother had in the older came from the knowledge that the wages of each long day's work, the pay for every laborious haul, went to the older brother. He spent it as it was needed together with the profits from the farm; he gave the money to the younger brother for clothing his children, for buying his wife new *tsarvuli* (pigskin sandals); he also took for his own use whatever he deemed necessary, though never abusing his prerogative. This was the only such relationship which I came across, simply because brothers did not live together as much as they used to, even in Dragalevtsy, ordinarily so tenacious of the older forms of life.

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The lot of an unmarried brother in the paternal home managed by an elder brother was likewise one of subordination. I visited one home which bore the unmistakable signs of belonging to a dairyman: milky buckets littered the inside; cows hopelessly switched at flies coming from the ever-present manure piles all over the yard. In the course of the conversation I learned that there was little difficulty between the brothers concerning work: the younger together with the wife of the older got up long before daybreak to milk and prepare the milk for Sofia; later on the older brother got up at the same time as his widowed mother to breakfast and started on his daily trek to Sofia and back. Whenever the younger man had extra money he gave it to the older, with the understanding that he could ask for what he needed. There was one source of trouble in the brotherly relationship arising out of the attempt on the part of the older to dictate whom the younger should marry. The inconsistency in this de-

466 The *trudova* system existed in principle until Bulgaria joined the
 656 Axis, though, she like all countries defeated in the first World War,
 702 passed through a period when compulsory labor was gradually replaced by compulsory military service. After the *coup d'état* of May, 1934, various groups of army officers controlled many of the country's policies; so it was not surprising to learn of the strengthening of the military forces of the nation. One sign of the government's changed policy was the fact that in 1935 not a single young man from Dragalevtsy went as a *trudovak*, but sixteen were called to do military service. Those eligible for service were called before a commission of army officers and examined; the successful ones passed on to receive military training, and the rest were returned home. Those who were rejected lost some standing in the eyes of the villagers, because it was thought that they had inherited some family weakness. The *family* rather than the individual was blamed.

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There was undeniably a great influence exercised upon the village by the practice of taking young men, in their impressionable years, away from the village for an interval of several months. They lived in an army barracks or a *trudovak* camp with other young men from different parts of the country. For a time they ceased doing some things which the village thought essential, and they learned to do other things which older family members would perhaps have frowned upon. They went out from a family system where each member worked more or less as a part of the whole; they returned often very conscious of their own individuality, and had to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought once more closed about them. There were some individuals who never again fell completely into line and who turned to Sofia for employment and a more congenial atmosphere.

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Older men who returned to the village as retired noncommissioned officers enjoyed a certain prestige that lingered after brass buttons and clumping boots had been exchanged for the conventional village attire. On the wall of the office of the Village Clerk, the names of all local officials and public employees were posted. There was considerable information regarding each man, but the concluding and perhaps most important item was the statement of the person's service

to the State, either as a soldier or a *trudovak*. All had served in one of these capacities, else they would not have been employed.

The young men were the only ones called to leave the village. As for the rest of the people, the national government went to them in the persons of its civil servants, who comprised most of the intelligentsia. Even the priest was a government employee, since the state supported the church. The doctor received most of her salary from public funds, since private practice in a village would have been financially unrewarding. In addition to these, the veterinarian, the schoolteachers, and an occasional lecturer from outside formed the advance guard of the national State. All of these public servants knew that they would be held accountable by their supervisors or inspectors, and identified themselves much more readily with the national bureaucracy than with the peasants whom they were supposed to help. Of these, the mayor was the spearhead in the attack on the old ways. One of his duties was to preside over the village court, where he stood for the law and order of the land.

One day as I was leaving the office of the mayor he asked me to stay and attend court. I sat in the corner of the room next to a bookcase jammed with documents. The mayor sat behind his desk, covered on such occasions by the white, green, and red Bulgarian flag, on which there was a stack of folders, one for each case to be heard. On the wall over his head were pictures of the King and Queen, a beautifully colored coat of arms of Bulgaria, and a patriotic calendar. Through the window I could see the small memorial garden in which forty-four fruit trees had been planted in memory of the forty-four local sons killed in the battles of Bulgaria's several wars. Two rifles for use when the policemen were on patrol stood in the gun rack not far from the desk. A bench lined another wall close to the small cast-iron stove. Near me there was a hat rack, and a spittoon less popular than the floor. A muddy, unshaven policeman stood at the door to bark people in and out.

The first man to come in was Iliya Trunin, a thirty-two year old villager in a *kozuh* (sheepskin coat), who was being sued by Ivan Katsarov, a tavern keeper. Iliya, instead of going to the expense of running an electric line from the main electric cable, had arranged

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COMMUNISM AT THE DOOR

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by the others. They answered back, repeating many of the comments heard around the house, comments definitely unfavorable to Communism and its cause. So the bickering reached into the schoolhouse and the playground, and children early became conscious of political differences not of their own making. 668
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With the young people, as already indicated, the division on the basis of political sympathy was even more marked. The Agrarian young people tended to associate with each other, and watched with dismay the active role that the members of the Communist youth group were playing in village life. Some enamoured couples, where each had differing political loyalties, disregarded political barriers in their devotion to each other, but when broaching the question of marriage to the parents often met stern disapproval. A girl's father would say, "I don't want my daughter marrying a Communist" or "You do what you want, but if you marry a Communist never come back to my house."

The controversy over politics extended also to the various "working groups" which had been such a basic part of village life in the past. A woman who was organizing a corn-hoeing group would invite only those whose political interests were similar. She knew that little work would be done in her fields if she got together women who differed over the present government.

At this stage of accommodation, therefore, factionalism was based on political differences and expressed itself in a separatism which seriously affected village life. People who differed politically simply stayed apart; where they had to mingle, such as on a bus, they made the best of it by teasing and horseplay which seemed to be all in fun but which often gave voice to deeply rooted emotions.

Accompanying the disagreements within the agricultural group itself were disagreements between the Agrarians and the artisans. The peasants of the opposition resented intensely the attempt on the part of the government to classify them with "workers," or men who owned little or no land and who depended entirely upon some skill for a livelihood. The peasant in the past had felt superior, or at least claimed to be more favored in social position than the artisan such as the tailor, although envious of the "easy work" that the tailor had to do. [The Communist government in 1945 - Analyst]

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668 do. Owing to the Communistic agitation in Dragalevtsy, lines were
 578 more sharply drawn between the peasants on the one hand and the
 554 artisans on the other. Most of the artisans had learned their trade in
 178 Sofia, had been subjected to city influences, and many of them had
 become acquainted with Communist ideas there before the war. Even
 Bai Milosh, the village patriarch so frequently mentioned in this
 account, had a son who had become an ardent Communist. This son
 was not the one who took over the management of field crops, nor the
 one responsible for the livestock. Instead he had become a cobbler.
 He thought of himself as a worker, whereas his brothers thought of
 themselves as farmers.

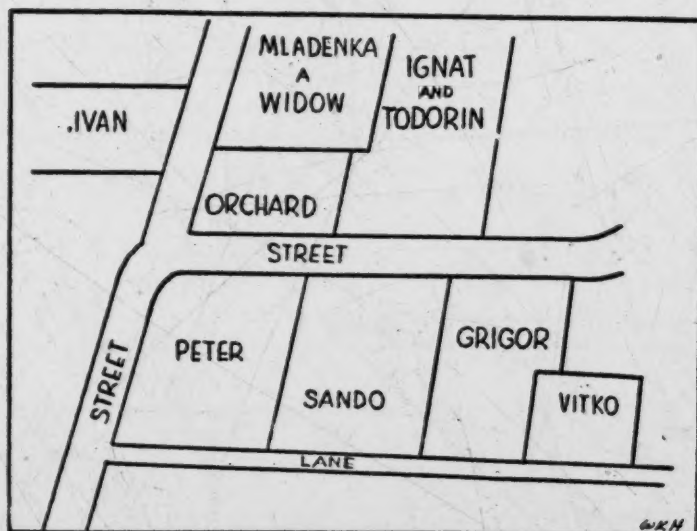
668 Quarreling between the young and old also characterized the
 578 factionalism. Although the Agrarian young people opposed the
 178 Communists, they were certainly influenced by the actions of their
 [888] more progressive or radical contemporaries. The older peasants who
 were opposed to the present regime emphasized time and time again
 the danger of having young people run the affairs of the land. This
 displacement of the aged rather than the indifference of Communists
 to God seemed to be causing the gravest concern to those who had
 been steeped in the traditional way of life.

668 But factionalism was not the only pronounced change which I
 178 noted. I found everywhere an insecurity which was foreign to the
 626 Dragalevtsy I had once known. The opposition supporters could be
 expected to feel insecure, for they had to face the possibility that
 Communism would carry the day. But even the Communists who
 were definitely in the good graces of the party were having many
 troubled moments. The wife of one Communist was active in the
 opposition, and when I asked him why he tolerated such political
 division in his family he simply laughed. I continued to question him:
 "Aren't you the boss in this family? Why do you let your wife have
 such independence?"

He then became deadly serious and sought to lead me out of my
 cloud of ignorance. "You see, it's this way. Suppose the Communists
 are overthrown. Where would I be then? But if my wife is active
 in the Agrarian group, she can then speak for me and get me out of
 trouble."

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● [554] Furthermore, the *mabali* (plural form) differ in size and prestige as well as in location. If the fortunes of two or three homes in a *mabala* rise, then the prestige of that *mabala* rises too. Land values go up in that place and the choice residential sites tend to shift there. This is illustrated in the case of the Daneva *Mabala* where the Danev men because of shrewd business methods have been able to accumulate considerable capital. Just the reverse is true in *mabali* where the families are very poor.

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578 But the general use of the term *mabala* by the Dragalevtsy villagers is that applied to the smaller neighborhood of from seven to twelve houses. This use will be best understood if we briefly consider one of the village *mabali*: for instance, the Stoiova *Mabala* which consists of eight families living in the following spatial relationships and identified by the names of the family head as follows:



THE STOIOVA MAHALA*

Seven family heads are men, one is a woman.

Ignat and Todorin live with their families in separate divisions of the same house.

The kinship nature of the *mabala* is shown by the fact that Ignat and Sando are brothers and are nephews of Peter, and uncles of Todorin. They

* Subsequent investigation showed this *mabala* to be representative of others in the village.

7 [CCF p. 231, category 116 - Analyst]

156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

● 554 3. FOR THE GOOD OF HIS SOUL. When asked "Why do you go on pilgrimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. TO VISIT SOCIALLY. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

IV. EFFECT OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.¹ Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.

I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual² shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

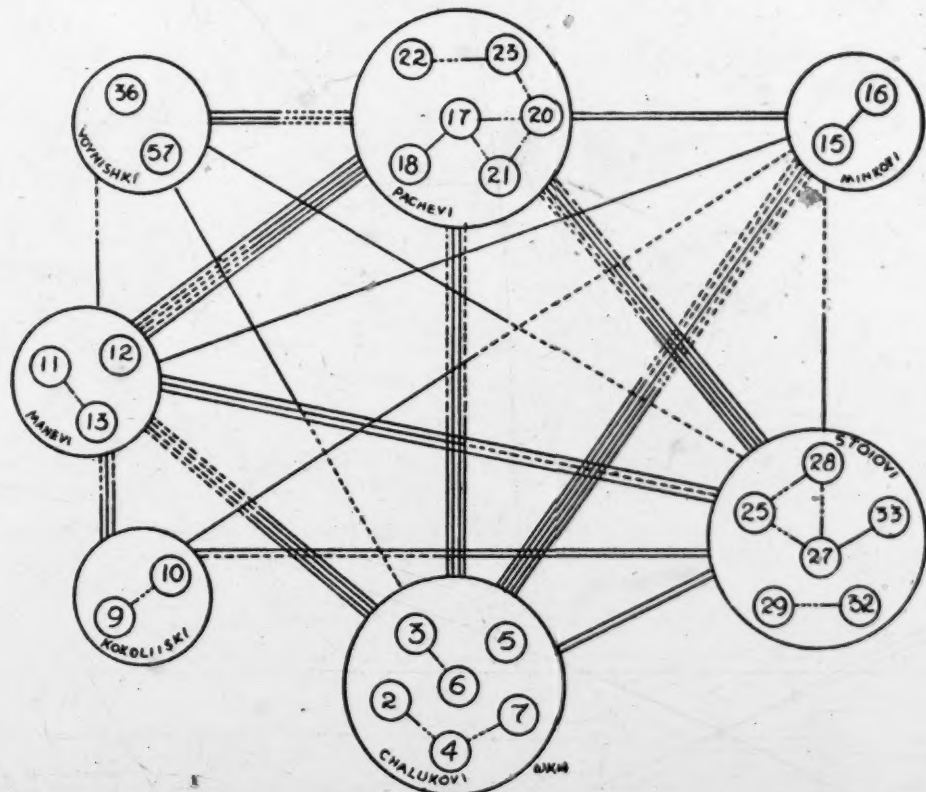
¹ The *svatovshenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

² The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

³ [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author; see pp. 250-256, Category 116--Analyst.]

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SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICES. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

APPENDIX

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose ~~relatives~~ chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval.

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Koko-liiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting.

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

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